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The Thirteenth of April, Nineteen Hundred and One.

Another red letter day has been added to those in the calendar of the international peace movement. Hereafter the 13th of April, 1901, will, along with the 24th of August, 1898, and the 18th of May, 1899, rank as one of the great days in the history of civilization.

On the first of these dates the Russian government, through the late Count Mouravieff, Minister of Foreign Affairs, handed to each of the foreign diplomatic representatives at St. Petersburg a lithograph copy of the now famous Rescript proposing a conference in the interests of "the maintenance of general peace and a possible reduction of the excessive armaments" of the powers. On the second date the one hundred delegates appointed by twenty-six powers, the most distinguished assemblage of governmental representatives in human history, met at The Hague and opened the Peace Conference, the chief result of whose ten weeks of deliberation was the convention providing for a permanent international court of arbitration.

Nearly two years have passed since the Hague Conference closed its labors. During that time one after another of the twenty-six powers has ratified the convention and appointed its members of the court, until now only China, Turkey and Luxemburg remain which have not ratified it.

On the 13th of April just passed, Dr. W. H. De Beaufort, the Netherlands Minister of Foreign Affairs, whom the convention makes the president of the administrative council of the court, sent official notice by telegraph and cable to all of the twenty-six powers informing them that the court was definitively constituted. This was the final act in the work of the HagueConference,as regards this particularconvention.

This message, probably the most important one of a political nature ever sent over the wires, created no commotion; in fact, was entirely unnoticed by most people. Some of the newspapers gave an inch to it, with an additional inch or so of headlines. Many of them made no reference whatever to it. If it had had its deserts, according to its importance in the progress of civilization, the whole front page of every great newspaper in Christendom would have been devoted to the subject; the pictures of the members of the court, more than fifty of them already appointed, would have been given, with some account of their character and positions in their several countries; the importance of the court would have been set out in strong terms, and the interesting and many-sided movement which has led up to it would have been described in its salient features.

But though not half the space usually devoted to the most contemptible prize-fight was given by the press to Mr. De Beaufort's announcement, the work has been done, and the world will in time have the incalculable benefits of the new institution which is henceforth to be the leading political instrument in the development of a sane and rational international life. In this there is abundant reason for rejoicing on the part of those who see beneath the surface the ceaseless activity of those silent, powerful forces, little disturbed by the surface commotions, which are steadily and surely bringing in the reign of goodwill and universal peace.

We begin the new century with another large and imperishable foundation-stone well laid beneath us. This should give us courage for larger and more earnest efforts hereafter. The permanent international court of arbitration, though now in actual existence, to continue, we believe, as long as human society lasts, has not yet done any service. One of these days we shall see the new invention tried. We are eager to see how it will work; but, however successful the first trial may be, it will need the active and united support of all the friends of peace for

many years to come in order that it may be permanently and firmly established in the confidence of the nations and peoples of the earth. To this end let all our strength and influence be henceforth exerted.

War Morality.

Silent leges inter arma. The Latin author of this saying was not the first to notice the phenomenon which he has thus pithily described. Nor was he the last. No sentence of the Roman literature has been oftener quoted than this,— quoted by men in every time before whom the fact stood in concrete, painful reality. Every century since, every generation, every day practically, has had its wars and battles, in which the clamorous fury of arms has silenced the laws and made it impossible for their still small voice, imperious and unchanging, to be heard.

The laws are silent in time of war, because the spirit out of which they spring is suppressed. This is the real significance of Cicero's expression. It would have been in him merely stupid commonplace to say that when war breaks out martial law takes the place, for soldiers under arms, of the ordinary forms of civil law. What he had in mind was a deeper and more solemn thing. War, as this keen observer noticed, breaks down and tramples under foot all moral considerations. Might, passion, cunning become the only law. Conscience is turned out. Moral impulses and feelings are quenched. Men do openly and aboveboard, with songs of glorification on their lips, what in times of peace would bring them at once to the bar of judgment, and ostracize them from all public respect; and the world looks on and says they are doing right!

One of the most conspicuous of the immoralities of war is the lying and deceit practiced and gloried in. In common civil life there is no one more detested and shunned than the liar. Society insistently demands truthfulness. Its whole structure and interests are dependent thereon. Nothing makes a man look meaner in his own eyes than deliberate falsehood. Our Christianity, out of which our civilization has sprung, includes liars among the lowest of men — "dogs, sorcerers, whoremongers, murderers," and the like. But in war all this civil morality of truthfulness is cast out and thrown to the winds. The fact is described in the oft-cited phrase, "All is fair in war."

Of this lying and deceit — prevalent in all wars, an inherent part of the system — there has been no more conspicuous example in recent years, if ever, than that shown in the capture of Aguinaldo. The whole exploit was a huge piece of falsehood, deception and treachery. The details are known to the whole American public — forged letters; General Funston pretending himself a prisoner being led to Aguinaldo; the seventy or more savage and cruel Macabebe scouts employed by our government palming themselves off as loyal followers of the Filipino leader; a trusted officer of Aguinaldo acting as his betrayer; the whole party starved almost to death accepting food of Aguinaldo's hand in order to have strength to carry out their lying and treacherous scheme! What we are saying of this occurrence is not said for the purpose of praising Aguinaldo, for he and his men would have done the same thing to capture Funston or MacArthur. It is said in condemnation of the whole system of war.

Such an action as this in common life would consign to everlasting infamy every person connected with it. But what do we see? The exploit has given "uncommon pleasure" at Washington. The government has done everything in its power to encourage just such lying and treachery in any future war. General Funston has been immediately promoted to a brigadier-generalship in the regular army. The newspapers, with some exceptions, have spoken of it as a glorious bit of daring heroism, of which all Americans ought to be forever proud! A few of the religious papers — precious few! — have dared to speak the truth about it; but most of them, particularly those which have been loudest in support of the government's Philippine policy, have unflinchingly justified it as perfectly consistent with the laws of war and therefore right.

For the *Outlook*, the boldest and most untiring of the great religious weeklies supporting the government's course, Funston's exploit was almost too much. Its conscience found this many-sided piece of deception hard to swallow; but it finally took it heroically down. Here is its comment:

> "It unquestionably shows in General Funston originality in device, fertility in resource, and great vigor and courage in execution, all of which are highly praiseworthy military qualities. But the capture was accomplished by deception, falsehood and what in commercial life would be called forgery. It is this fact which arouses the indignation of some critics. The most serious objection to war is not the suffering which it entails, but the change in moral standards which it involves. As in detective service deception and falsehood are deemed legitimate for the capture of criminals, so in war for the capture of an enemy. Without discussing here whether it is legitimate to depart from the ethical standards which control in civil life, it must suffice to say that the code of war was not violated by the capture of Aguinaldo."

Suffice to say! This great teacher of public morals ought to have told us whether this lying exploit was right or not, not whether it was in harmony with the code of war, which the veriest innocent already knows. No one not acquainted with the *Outlook's* general position could possibly tell what it means to say in this double-faced, hedging passage. We are left to infer what it would have said had it ventured

to discuss the real point in the matter. The *Outlook* believes in and upholds war with its present code; hence it believes in and justifies this monstrous piece of deception, falsehood and forgery.

The comment of the *Independent*, the other of our two great independent religious weeklies, is amazing beyond almost anything we have ever read in a Christian journal:

"Did General Funston do right? Was he justified in deceiving Aguinaldo and capturing him by this deception? We see it asked whether we are not humiliated by Aguinaldo's orders that the American prisoners be treated humanely, when they were on their way to capture him by lies. The answer is simply the answer of war. It is wrong to lie, and wrong to steal, and wrong to kill. But in war men must lie and steal and kill. Then is war wrong? Certainly, wrong for somebody — for the party that is in the wrong, and whose act involves both parties in all these wrong acts. War is an accursed thing; 'war is hell;' but all is fair in war and hell. There was no violation of the laws of war in General Funston's conduct."

The *Independent*, in spite of its reckless daring in the face of the common principles of Christian morality, shrinks at last from answering categorically its own questions. It puts its statement in a roundabout, involved form, as if ashamed to say out squarely before its constituency of readers its real sentiment. The answers would run thus: General Funston did right. He was justified in deceiving Aguinaldo. War is wrong, for the party that is in the wrong. War is right, for the party that is in the right. The accursed, hellish thing is right, for those whose cause is right! Lying, stealing, killing are wrong. Lying, stealing, killing are right, for those whose cause is right! For these, these detestable immoralities are sacred, heavenly things! Accursed hell is for them transformed into glorious heaven! "All is fair in war and hell"! Wrong is right, whenever it is used for right ends! "The answer of war"! A pitiable answer it is.

It is useless to attempt to describe, with any English adjective, the shamefulness of such a doctrine. It crushes to dust the last stone of the foundations of morals. It turns morality into a thing of mere temporary, shifting, baseless expediency. If lying, stealing and killing are right under the circumstances and for the reasons given by the *Independent*, then any other immorality is right under similar conditions. And if these iniquities — the whole category of sins — are right and justifiable in accomplishing the purposes of war, they are right in private and social life wherever they are employed for just and righteous ends. Not a single reason can be adduced to the contrary.

The *Outlook* is right in saying that the most serious objection to war is the change in moral standards which it involves. But the most serious part of this change is not that which occurs in the stress of the campaign and the battlefield; it is the impairment of moral standards which spreads everywhere through private life and civil society — into the home, the school, the pulpit, the editorial office. The pollution of these sources of the public life and morals, especially of the pulpit and the editorial chair, is the saddest and most irreparable of the evil effects of war. The corrupting influence of the lying and treachery of General Funston and his band of associates is bad enough, but it is insignificant in comparison with the far-reaching insidious effect of what has been written about the exploit — in plain language or in the most tangled casuistry — in the greater and smaller religious and other papers of the country.

Annual Meeting of the American Peace Society.

The seventy-third annual business meeting of the American Peace Society will be held in Social Hall, Tremont Temple, Boston, Friday, May 17, at 2 p. m. The business will be the election of officers, the reading of the treasurer's annual account, the report of the board of directors on the work and events of the year, and the transaction of any other business that may be presented. A discussion by the members will follow the reading of the annual report. In view of the commemorative meetings held in January, no public meeting will be held at the time of the annual meeting this year. All members of the Society who are within reach of Boston are urged to be present at the annual meeting, and those who cannot come are invited to send any suggestions that may occur to them as to the interests of the work. We would also remind our friends again of the urgent need of funds with which to maintain and further extend the influence of the Society's work. It has been impossible as yet to provide permanent means of preventing the annual deficit which we have had to meet for the last three or four years, on account of the decline in interest rates and rent values. Our friends have generously met these deficits in the past, and we are sure they will not fail to do so now, at this most important juncture in the history of the peace movement. Contributions of any amount will be most gratefully received.

Editorial Notes.

German View of Arbitration.

Very few, if any, German statesmen seemingly have grasped the real secret of the power of arbitration in the settlement of international disputes. There are many private citizens all over Germany who see the subject clearly and are pressing it with great force upon the authorities, but among those who lead and control the state there are practically none. The German official point of view, at

the present time, is that of the "mailed fist," and as arbitration wears no armor, the secret of its power escapes them. The point of view is set forth by G. von Verdy du Vernois in an article on "War and Peace," in a recent number of the *Deutsche Rundschau*. He argues that a permanent court of arbitration in any form is doomed to failure. Its findings could not be enforced in any way which he can discover. If either of the parties should refuse to accept the award, that would end the matter, and the result would be bad. If the other powers should unite to compel the unwilling nation to accept the judgment, that would start a new war. A commercial boycott would, he thinks, be impossible because of its injurious effect upon the nation or nations starting it. The writer does not show any acquaintance with the remarkable history of arbitration during the past century, during which the sense of national honor and the power of national and international public opinion have secured obedience to the awards of arbitral tribunals in more than a hundred important instances. A record like this takes the life entirely out of the hypothetical obstacles which du Vernois sets up. It stands to reason that the decisions of a regularly organized and permanent court, set up by the joint action of the nations, would be even more sure, if possible, to secure the acceptance of the arbitrating parties than those of the temporary tribunals of the past. Every one of the objections raised by this German writer, and by German statesmen in general, arises either out of the failure to understand the compelling power of certain moral forces, or out of the love of brute force and the unwillingness to see it discarded.

Court Speaks for Justice.

On the subject of sanctions referred to in the foregoing note, we quote the following admirable closing passage of the discourse pronounced by Judge Baldwin of Connecticut, on "The Part taken by Courts of Justice in the Development of International Law," at the opening of the Conference of the International Law Association at Rouen, France, last autumn:

"No court indeed can extend its hand to compel a foreign nation to obey its judgments; but its moral force in declaring what is right and just,— what is established by common consent of mankind as the true rule of international conduct,— this is far weightier than anything attaching to the utterances of kings or parliaments. A court is an arbiter before which contending parties state their claims upon an equal footing — erected for this end, because all men agree that thus can justice be best secured. What speaks for justice speaks with a voice which no nation, however powerful, can afford to disregard. It is, as one of our associates has finely said, '*l'expression souveraine du principe du bien coördonné avec les exigences de l'utilité individuelle ou collective.*'

The power which should go before an international tribunal, and then decline to respect the decree which it had invoked, based upon the jurisprudence of the world, would forfeit the good opinion of mankind. And hardly less endurable is now the state of that nation which has avowedly violated any rule of international law which is generally held to have been established by judicial decision. It goes against the moral sense of civilization. Its punishment is none the less severe because it is simply the natural, unwritten consequence of its acts. Nations live long; they may suffer long. Men may escape remorse for earth, at least, by suicide; after earth, it may be, by pardon. But no divine mercy awaits the nation that has proved itself unworthy, and its perpetuity of existence keeps it forever at the bar of public opinion. History is the judge, and it is the history of the world of which the greatest power forms so small a part. The record of conviction is not hastily made up, but, once registered, it can never be effaced."

Want of Observation.

The tendency of military discipline to destroy independence in the soldier and to reduce him to a will-less and mechanical instrument shows itself in many ways. Its effect in weakening the power of observation has recently been brought to the public notice by a scathing criticism of the English soldier's obtuseness in this regard, made by Sir Frederick Maurice, the commander of the Woolwich military district. The want of observation of common surrounding objects is bad enough in ordinary life, but General Maurice shows that it is much worse among soldiers, buckets and other objects hanging about the walls of their quarters being often entirely unnoticed by them, even by the non-commissioned officers. The *Lancet* wishes Sir Frederick well in his efforts to prevent this atrophy of the soldier's power of observation, but thinks that he will not have an easy time of it, as the nature of military discipline is responsible for it. The *Lancet's* comment runs thus:

"To a great extent the facility of observation, like other forms of independent thought, is destroyed by military discipline in our army. In the barrack yard a soldier must keep his eyes to the front unless ordered to direct them elsewhere, and the soldier in garrison towns performs most of his exercises in the barrack yard. As a result, the ease with which soldiers of the mother country could lose themselves was a constant cause of comment and ridicule by colonials during the early part of the present war, while one of the stories published of DeWet tells how that elusive leader one night led his men straight through a British camp which barred his way, answering questions in English, and having no objection raised to his progress except by an officers' mess, the members of which grumbled because their meal was suffering from the dust raised by the fugitive Boers. Such a story, if true, affords a good instance of want of observation, when to observe would have implied an interference by the observer in that which apparently did not concern him."

Universal Alliance.

The veteran Frederic Passy, president of the French International Arbitration Society, and one of the most distinguished peace advocates of Europe, recently sent to the Paris *Siecle* the following statement of opinion, in reply to a question as to what he thought of recent utterances of Signor Zanardelli on Italy's connection with the Triple Alliance:

"There is not, properly speaking, any question of a rupture between Italy and the powers to which she is allied till 1903. There is no way of ascertaining if at that date the existing treaty of alliance will be renewed, or whether it will be replaced by another of a different tendency; or, again, whether Italy will abstain from renewing her engagements toward Germany and Austria, and abstain also from contracting others, thus regaining her full liberty of action and observing toward all nations a policy of equal friendship. I will not conceal the fact that, so far as I am concerned, that is the attitude I should as a general rule like to see Italy, as well as all other powers, adopt.

"Whoever speaks of alliance, it has more than once been remarked, implies more or less a threat and assuredly mistrust toward those who are not in the alliance.

"Alliance, not triple or double, but universal, alliance in freedom, in justice, in labor and in peace — that is the one I desire, not only for Italy, but for France and for every nation, without exception."

If Italy, at the expiration of the term of the Triple Alliance, would follow the course here suggested by Mr. Passy, she could easily lead Europe out of the "blind alley" into which an emulous militarism has led the powers, and thus put herself immediately upon the road to greatness and honor, which she can never regain, try as she may, along the old lines.

Conscription in England.

Great Britain is unmistakably approaching — and not very slowly — compulsory military service. Last autumn while the present writer was crossing the English Channel, a prominent English clergyman, a stout upholder of the most extravagant type of British imperialism, pooh-poohed to him the idea that the English people would ever submit to conscription. There would always, he said, be more volunteers than the government could possibly use for any military or naval expedition. But Mr. Brodrick, in his recent speech in the House of Commons when introducing the new army proposals, showed that he had very serious fears about the voluntary system being sufficient. He hinted unmistakably that compulsory service would be resorted to if the government's proposals which he was then making should prove inadequate. He declared "that they could not shut out the possibility of having to send a larger force to defend their own possessions, nor could they suppose that if ever they should unhappily become entangled in a European war, they could limit their enterprise solely to the defense of their possessions. Besides home defense, they ought to be ready at any moment to send abroad three army corps."

The hint at compulsory service seems to have awakened no alarm, but rather approval, among a large proportion of the people, who have submissively followed the ministerial and military lead in imperializing and militarizing the country. The English friends of peace realize the impending danger and are striving with all the forces at their command to ward it off. The *Herald of Peace* says: "One wonders at the public apathy as to this national trend, and even more as to the age of the correspondents in the press who want conscription. The public advocates of it whom one meets are generally middle-aged citizens who will not be personally affected by it, 'whereas,' says an Oxford correspondent, 'at the Oxford Union the young men really liable have voted against it by an overwhelming majority.'" It will be a sad day for English civilization the world over when conscription conquers the British Parliament and people. The day is not far off, unless the present movement can be quickly arrested.

Tolstoy's Intercession.

The formal excommunication of Tolstoy from the State Church of Russia, practically accomplished many months ago, is thought to have been made because of the great peacemaker's recent severe arraignment of the government's persecution of the non-resistant Doukhobors and others. The following letter was recently sent by him to the Czar along with a petition of Doukhobor women begging to be allowed to join their husbands in Canada:

"Thousands of Russia's best children suffer trials as heavy, and even heavier than in the past, under the present religious persecution, that inconceivable madness which spreads wider and wider over Russia, but which enlightened men and governments have long come to regard as futile and stupid injustice. I have long felt it to be my sacred duty to endeavor before I die to open your eyes to the senseless and horrible cruelties perpetrated in your name. This touching appeal of the Doukhobor women forces me to delay no longer. Thousands and thousands of men, deeply religious, and representing the nation's truest and chiefest strength, have been brought to ruin, imprisoned in exile or driven forth from Russia. Take this matter into your hands. Heed not the counsel of the men who instigated the persecutions; heed not Pobiedonostzeff, an evil, obstinate, hard-hearted man, born out of his time, nor Sipjagin, a short-sighted, superficial, unenlightened man; but revise or repeal all the existing stupid, repugnant, shameless laws enjoining religious persecutions which have long ceased to exist in every civilized country except Russia."

The present extensive uprisings in Russia, not only among the students of the universities, but among the working classes, followed by a memorial to the Czar signed by more than fifteen thousand prominent people, asking for a constitution, indicate that the day of these "laws enjoining religious persecutions" is about over. There is yet time for the Russian oligarchy to give the country civil and religious liberty in a peaceful way. If it does not do this, a direful revolution, which will drench the country with blood, is sure to come.

Spanish War Pensions.

It seems that there is to be no end to the pension raids on the treasury. There were, in round numbers, 275,000 men called out for the Spanish War. Of these only about 60,000 actually saw service. Yet already over 40,000 applications for pensions on account of this war have been made. This is nearly seventy per cent. of the men actually engaged in service against Spain. The Philippine roll has not yet begun to come in. The parties chiefly guilty of this pension raid on the treasury are, it seems, not the soldiers themselves but the pension agents. They gather about the soldiers as fast as they come home, try to make them think that something is the matter with them, and tell them that since there is plenty of money in the treasury they might as well have it. These pension agents are anxious to get Commissioner Evans dismissed from the head of the Pension Bureau. It is estimated that he saves the government about five millions a year by rejecting improper claims. There is no lower, lazier, shabbier method of getting money than that adopted by these harpy agents — such of the pension agents we mean of course as stoop to these base and dishonest ways of exploiting the soldiers in the interests of their own purses. They are of course all "patriots," zealous for the honor and glory of the country, supporting the nation in every war upon which it enters, sympathizing and suffering with the soldiers in the injustices done them! What evil, pray, is there to which war does not lead and minister?

Golden Rule Brotherhood.

A meeting of unusual character and significance was held in the Calvary Baptist Church, New York City, March 26, under the auspices of the Baron and Baroness de Hirsch Monument Association, to express public appreciation of the great charities of these distinguished Jews, and to promote eradication of race prejudice. Nearly all races and creeds were represented in the audience. The president, Thomas L. James, in opening the meeting, said that "our metropolis has never witnessed a more impressive demonstration than this," the platform on which they stood being the Golden Rule. Wu Ting Fang, the Chinese Ambassador, who made a fine address, said that "racial prejudice and religious intolerance are two monsters of barbarism," and that "the highest form of civilization is philanthropy." Rev. Heber Newton, D.D., spoke on "The Golden Rule in Business." He said that "the Christian world of business is surely not a shining example of the Golden Rule." It would be some day, and men "will not only spend their money according to the Golden Rule, but will make it according to the Golden Rule." Dr. Joseph Silverman spoke on "The Golden Rule as the Basis of Universal Brotherhood," saying that "religion and education must be directed to so fashion the mind and heart as to make men realize the thought that the whole human race is but one human family. A poem entitled "Inasmuch," written for the occasion, was read by Edwin Markham. Rev. Samuel Schulman, D.D., spoke on "The Golden Rule in its relation to children," urging that the churches must be liberalized, the home life permeated with the practice of the Golden Rule, the schools utilized "for the inculcation of the highest mutual respect and goodwill among the children." Other speakers were Dr. R. S. McArthur, pastor of the church, Rev. Dr. Charles T. Walker, and Rev. Charles H. Eaton. The church was filled to its utmost capacity and the meeting was a most successful one. As a result of it an effort is to be made — is in fact being made — to establish a Universal Golden Rule Brotherhood, with membership throughout the world. In spite of the fact that our times seem dreadfully "out of joint" in many ways, it is not difficult to see that the spirit of the Golden Rule is "in the air" to-day as never before, and that the sense of human brotherhood is becoming very wide and deep. If this spirit and sentiment throughout the world could be brought into some sort of union which would consciously bring together all such souls, in a simple, open way, that would inspire and strengthen each in the fellowship of all, without burdening and binding any, it might become of inestimable service in promoting the brotherhood of humanity. Address for information Theodore F. Seward, 78 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Military Manliness.

In a recent number of the *Independent* (April 18), Mr. Ernest Howard Crosby, proceeding from General Funston's exploit, thus describes, with fine satire, the "Military Idea of Manliness":

"We have been told for so many centuries that the soldier is the very custodian of honor that it sounds almost blasphemous to assert that his idea of honor is lower than ours. Forgery, deception, the violation of the laws of hospitality, the use of a man's bread and salt to his own destruction, the cultivation and reward of the basest treachery in our human tools and the wanton slaughter of troops drawn up under false representations of peaceful intention,— all these things, we are assured, are manly in the eyes of a soldier; and hereafter we are to look in the military man for the qualities which distinguish the forger, the counterfeiter, the bunco-steerer and the green-goods man. When we think of a brigadier-general henceforth, we must try to picture to our minds a sort of glorified Tombs-police-court detective. . . . The Funston episode is only a single event pointing out the general nature of the change in the idea of manliness to which we must readjust ourselves. . . . The West Point conception of a fight, for instance, is to pick out a raw, untutored "plebe," who scarcely knows his right hand from his left, and stand him up against the best boxer in the corps, and let him take his punishment until he is knocked senseless. Clearly this is a part of the new

standard of manliness which we must perforce adopt. The old civilian injunction to "take a feller of your size" is a relic of a bygone era, fit, perhaps, for prize fighters and such low folk, but altogether unworthy of an officer and a gentleman. We see in the great powers of the world an exemplification of the strict application of the new rule. Does any truly military nation ever tackle a nation of its size? Of course not. Little Greece may do such a foolish and unsoldierly thing. Nations of peasants like the Boers, savages like the Filipinos, may try conclusions with powers their equals or superiors in strength, but a Great Military Power — never! They pass their time in searching the ends of the earth for little peoples to massacre and rob, and in making abject apologies to each other for every unintentional discourtesy. This is a part of the new ideal of manliness, which, with the spread of a diet of tabasco sauce, will undoubtedly become national. . . . "Take a feller of your size?" No, indeed! The new military maxim is, "Take the smallest kid you can find."

Paper Armies.

The *Anglo-Russian*, published in London, gives in its April number the following excellent and refreshing suggestions as to how Great Britain may "defeat Russia in a bloodless war." The passage is full of common-sense of the highest order, and the advice ought to be practiced in the proper direction everywhere, especially by Anglo-Saxons of all parts of the world, who are so proud just now of possessing all the sense there is on the earth, and a little more:

"The second remedy [the first was to lend Russia no money] will seem to the average Englishman more chimerical, but to us it is the most real and effective of all the measures calculated to check Russian general aggressiveness, coming, as it does, not from the nation at large, but exclusively from the irresponsible autocracy and plutocracy. This remedy is to send systematically and at any favorable moment '*paper armies*' to Russia, in the literal sense of the word. We mean, of course, such books, periodicals, pamphlets, leaflets, etc., as will strengthen and ultimately lead to predominant power those liberal Russian elements which are always against any wars, and for peaceful reform and development at home. If you cannot fight Russian autocracy *without*, in the open field, with cannon and bayonet, fight it *within* with the more noble and valuable weapons of logic, persuasion, truth and love, shedding nobody's blood, but, on the contrary, preventing fratricide and leading two great nations to union and brotherhood. Send one *paper soldier* to Russia, and he will do there for the good of both Russia and England, and the world at large, that which a hundred real live 'Tommy Atkinses' will never be able to do even at the sacrifice of their lives. Practical statesmen may smile at this substitution of the living soldier in uniform by a paper one, and will turn their attention to ironclads and improved ammunition; but we can speak from experience that a paper army is no chimera, but a real thing. The British army defeated the Russian army in the Crimea, with terrible slaughter on both sides, but now, in almost the same generation, they again stand face to face, ready at a moment's notice to engage again in mutual carnage. The victory of the 'paper army' would not be ephemeral, but for all times. If there are no British generals to organize an expedition of an army in 'black and white' to Russia, there are hundreds of native Russians, patriotic, true and self-sacrificing, who would gladly undertake the work; in fact, are already doing so to the utmost of their power. All they ask is to be plentifully supplied with the *three* things which Napoleon found absolutely necessary for conducting a successful war: first, money; second, money; third, money. To supply such a war budget it is not necessary to go to Parliament, for every individual can be his own parliament, his own committee of supply. Remember that such 'a bloodless war' will not only not be universally condemned, but, on the contrary, universally praised and supported, and, what is the most important, the invaded country itself will receive the foreign 'paper army' with a warm welcome and great joy, and be forever grateful to those who sent it."

Ballou Memorial.

We have received from Rev. William S. Heywood of Dorchester, Mass., a copy of "The Adin Ballou Memorial," containing a report of the addresses and other exercises at the unveiling of the bronze statue of Adin Ballou at Hopedale, Mass., on the 27th of last October. The addresses, as here recorded, show how extraordinarily true and noble a man Mr. Ballou was held to be by all who knew him. We doubt if New England, or any other part of the country, has ever produced a finer example of a man of conscience, of largeness of heart, of love of his kind, and of clear comprehension of those principles upon which alone the lasting prosperity and general individual and social happiness of the world rest. Mr. Ballou's life ought to be studied and restudied by all who feel themselves to have any mission to help in bringing about the social improvement of mankind. He had a large, acute and fertile intellect, but goodness of heart and philanthropy, in the original meaning of the word, were his predominant characteristics. His Christian socialist scheme at Hopedale failed, but through the noble and brave effort his life and aspirations have gone permanently into the great current of humane forces which are gradually transforming and will ultimately totally redeem the world. Every man who helps the world on gives his life for it, not usually outwardly, but in a much deeper sense. This was more than ordinarily true of Adin Ballou, who felt, after making his experiment, very deeply and keenly the blindness and grossness of the world, and its unreadiness and unwillingness to rise above the plane of grasping selfishness and animal strife. War he always utterly abhorred. It was loathesome and unspeakably repulsive to his fine moral nature. "He was ever contemplating and ever striving to hasten the coming of the time in which he believed with all his heart, when, in the unfolding purpose of God as revealed by prophets and poets since the world began, men, rising

above their selfishness and pride, their cruelty and crime, their scorn and hate of one another, shall dwell together as one great brotherhood." The statue of bronze erected to him at Hopedale, on the spot where he lived and worked, is a very noble one, but there is another much nobler and fairer which the elements can never reach and deface.

Reform Bureau.

The Reform Bureau at Washington ought to have very large support from all parts of the nation. It was established to promote, and is constantly most efficiently promoting, those Christian reforms on which churches and Christian men and women as individuals unite, notwithstanding their theological differences. It is fundamentally therefore a sociological and religious peacemaker. The Bureau coöperates, in every way possible, with all associations which stand for the maintenance of the American Sabbath, social purity, for the suppression of intemperance, for the destruction of gambling, for conscience and uprightness in politics. One chief line of its effort is the endeavor to secure the substitution of arbitration and conciliation for both industrial and international wars, and thus it coöperates with the peace movement in the nation and throughout the world. Dr. Crafts, who is at the head of the Bureau, is a man of the highest principle, of large intelligence and moral insight, courageous and aggressive, and yet wise and practicable in his efforts. As is the case with all other men of a twentieth century conscience, his antipathy to war has in recent years grown very strong, and he throws the weight of his influence and position in favor of rational and humane methods of settling controversies as against the barbarism of war. He has steadily opposed the recent wars as "the most unjustifiable of all the wars waged by English-speaking races." The Reform Bureau, under his direction, has, since its organization less than a decade ago, helped to win many signal victories, in divorce-law reform, in anti-gambling legislation, in removing foul literature from railroads, etc. The original anti-canteen amendment to the army bill passed by the Fifty-fifth Congress, forbidding liquor selling in army and navy, was, with the exception of one clause, written by the Bureau. Such an organization at the capital of the nation, and in touch with the movements and policies affecting the land to its farthest borders and beyond, is of immense moment, and ought not to have to beg its support for a single day.

The Jews and Peace.

Dr. E. S. Niles of Boston has been for a dozen years a visitor to the Jewish quarter of Boston, the leader of a society of Messians, and the director of a Hebrew Messianic Council for the promotion of Christianity among Jews. He has had such close and constant contact with Jews that his opinions concerning them and his exposition of their views are well worth considering. He says that the following are among the most common questions which he has been obliged to answer patiently many times over:

1. "What has Christ done in the world to show that he was or is the Messiah? Have wars come to an end, and why are not the Jews gathered in Palestine?
2. "Messiah's coming was to cause peace among the people of the earth. You have neither peace among the people of the nation nor peace among churches; explain this."

The Jews, as is well known, are looking and longing for the time when nations shall unlearn war and substitute the arts of peace for the agencies of destruction of life and property. They are shrewd observers, and the questions they ask about the Christian's Messiah are very natural ones. If they would look carefully into the Gospels they would find that the real Christ of Christianity is a very different personage from the one about whom the world gets its ideas from the lives and teachings of multitudes of his professed adherents. He has done the best he could, through an only partially Christianized body of followers, to bring the world to peace, and he can never do any better until he succeeds in getting followers who are better peacemakers. The ideas of the Jews about peace are much more in harmony with the spirit and teachings of Jesus Christ than are those of many professed Christians and leaders of Christian thought.

Dr. Niles has called a convention in Park Street Church, Boston, for the 22d of May, which will consider certain important questions of the relation of Christianity to Jewish practices.

Cost of the Boer War.

The British government would probably give its ears to-day if it could only go back to the time when it so haughtily rejected the proposals of the Transvaal that the matters in dispute be referred to arbitration. That was a criminal blunder equaled only by the incomprehensible folly of Mr. Chamberlain recently in brushing aside as "preposterous" the liberal peace proposals offered by General Kitchener to General Botha. There is reason to believe that the Boers might have been induced to accept these proposals, and the war thus brought to an end; but that hope is gone, and the desolating operations seem destined to go on until the Boers are all captured or killed. There is not the least sign of their yielding. The English army is melting away at the rate of three thousand or more per month. The war is now, according to Mr. Brodrick's statement in the House of Commons, costing Great Britain $7,500,000 per week. It has, according to the same statement, cost since it began nineteen months ago $755,000,000, or by the present

week $775,000,000. This is estimated to be six or seven times the wealth of all the Boers in the South African Republic when the war broke out. In spite of the increase of taxes, the deficit during the past year was $265,000,000. It order to meet this deficiency, which is constantly growing, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, for the government, proposed a new loan of $300,000,000, and new taxes aggregating $55,000,000 a year. This means that the present generation is to bear one-sixth of the increased burdens, and coming generations five-sixths. The new taxes are distributed as follows: first, an increase of twopence per pound in the income tax (nearly one per cent.); second, a tax of four shillings twopence per hundred weight (one cent a pound) on refined sugar, with smaller rates on other sugars; and, third, a duty of one shilling a ton on exports of coal. The two latter are new taxes, to which the people are not likely to take kindly. The coal producers and miners are up in arms against the tax on exports of coal, as likely to reduce foreign consumption and thus throw miners out of employment. The people of the nation as a whole have been so long accustomed to low-priced sugar that the extra cent on every pound used will go against the grain, and the income tax which the new duty raises to six per cent. on incomes of over $3,000 will make many an English capitalist twist his mouth. The whole situation is serious, for if the struggle continues many weeks longer new sources of income will have to be found. The present ministry, which is responsible for the iniquitous war, may at any moment go down under an avalanche of public indignation, *as it ought to go down*, and then———.

War and Disease.

American Medicine, a new Philadelphia journal of the healing art, appeals to medical men everywhere to unite in combating war. It believes the reappearance of the plague at the present time in many parts of the world to be due to the wars and movements of troops now going on. It says:

"Almost all governments, civilized and uncivilized, are devoting almost all their energies to decivilization. War and ambition and national hatreds are wildly at work to produce ruin and disease. The old fires of barbarism are relighting, masked under the specious guises of national egotism and pseudo-patriotism. The enormous sums of money, almost the whole energies of all peoples, are being expended in war, luxury and expansion. It is not accidental; it is not merely intercurrent: it is absolutely a causal nexus that unites this with the awful increase of plague."

Whether this theory of the reappearance and spread of the plague will bear a critical examination or not, we are not now prepared to say. There are undoubtedly many facts that support it. But whether it is true or not, there are enough universally recognized ways in which war degrades and ruins physical manhood and propagates physical degeneration from generation to generation to make every conscientious medical man hate it with all his soul. War, with its awful waste and wreckage of men's bodies, is absolutely opposed to the modern view of the sacredness of human life and the increasing solicitude with which multiplied efforts are being made to preserve the strength of the vigorous and to increase the vitality of the feeble. This care for the physical well-being of men is one of the greatest glories of the age. War is totally out of harmony with it. *American Medicine's* appeal to medical men to form "an international union of all medical men to appeal to the submerged religious and humanitarian instincts of the people of all governments to recall the world to sanity," ought to meet with a hearty and universal response from the profession. "Let us as a profession," it says, "throw our united influence against war and the waste of the world's energies in ruthless ambitions which are a mockery of civilization. Disease is the certain outcome, the unvarying punishment of sin. Ours is the duty to search out and to prevent the causes of disease."

Question of Indemnities.

It is a relief to know that some of the missionary organizations operating in China have decided not to ask or accept indemnities for their losses. The Executive Meeting of the British Society of Friends announced recently that it would follow this course, as dictated both by loyalty to principle and by Christian expediency. The China Inland Mission, the largest of the organizations doing mission work in the Empire, which has always declined to appeal to force for protection, says that nothing could indemnify it for the forty of its workers massacred, and that it will accept no indemnities for losses of property. This is undoubtedly the only consistent Christian course. If it were taken by all the missionary societies, it would do more to win the Chinese people to the Christian faith and to prevent future hatred of foreigners than anything else possible to be done at the present time. It would be a practical demonstration of the unselfish, sacrificing nature of pure Christianity whose influence would be almost irresistible. Whatever may be the final verdict as to the justifiableness of the course taken by Dr. Ament and others, from the point of view of ordinary morality, what they have done with such precipitancy is very far from the conduct demanded by the spirit and teachings of the Master, and from the standard followed, with such glorious ultimate results, by his early followers. There is double reason at the moment why the missions should have held absolutely aloof from indemnifying themselves. They will thereby have more completely identified themselves with the aggressions of the European powers, whose conduct in the past has been the chief cause of the recent uprising, and thus prevent the Chinese from

distinguishing Christianity from state policies. Leaving Christianity aside, if there were a true settlement on the basis of justice, as much indemnity would go to China, for the injustices done her in past years and recently, as to all the powers combined. A war indemnity is only the last stage of the brutality and tyranny of a war. It is imposed by the victor on the vanquished, no matter who may have been the guilty cause of the war. It is never levied according to the spirit of justice, even when it is in harmony with justice; it is dictated by might. The participation of the United States with the powers in the demand for indemnity from China is unfortunate, as it is in a sense a practical upholding of the previous conduct of the European nations which brought on the riots. Our government refrained from imposing an indemnity on Spain. If it had refrained from having anything to do with indemnities in the case of China, it would have kept its skirts clear of the sins which the powers have committed against her, and would no doubt afterwards have received from China of her own accord remuneration for whatever damages have been done. This course, we have not the least doubt, would also have had an even greater restraining influence upon the exorbitant demands of the powers for indemnities than that which has been pursued, moderate and considerate as it has been. We should like to see our nation do the very highest and best thing every time; the thing which would make her influence for good the utmost possible, for the future as for the present.

Brevities.

. . . Hon. William M. Evarts, who died recently at the age of eighty-three, was the leading counsel of the United States at the Geneva arbitration, the most memorable of all the cases of international controversy settled by this method. His associates were Morrison R. Waite and Caleb Cushing.

. . . A correspondent in the Chicago *Times-Record* says that "the war in South Africa has drained from Australia more than ten thousand workers; has lessened the inflow of British capital for the development of new mines, and, combined with the remarkable industrial boom in Europe, has fully stopped emigration to Australia."

. . . Mr. George Cadbury of Birmingham, England, the famous cocoa manufacturer, a leading member of the Society of Friends, has steadily refused to sell his goods to supply the English army. Mr. Cadbury has recently become the chief owner of the London *Daily News*, which has been turned into an organ of peace and against the government policy in South Africa. The great manufacturer, who has recently set apart $900,000 worth of property in the suburbs of Birmingham for the benefit of working men, has been deeply pained that England has in the South African matter abandoned Christian principles and gone back to Old Testament times, as he expresses it.

. . . The Tenth International Peace Congress, to be held at Glasgow, Scotland, this year, will open on the 7th of September and continue one week. The program is being prepared by the English peace leaders and will be published shortly.

. . . Mr. John de Bloch, the author of the great work on "The Future of War," who has been seriously ill in the South of France, is now better and again engaged in his important propaganda.

. . . The Dutch painter, Jan Ten Kate, whose exhibition of anti-war paintings at The Hague in 1899 attracted so much attention, is now exhibiting his collection in London.

. . . The annual representative meeting of the German peace societies was held at Stuttgart on the 26th of March. There were delegates present from fifteen German cities. The meeting was remarkable for the number of teachers and professors present.

. . . It is said now that there is to be no large emigration of the Finns this year. They have decided to stay at home and fight out the battle of their constitutional rights on their own soil, though at the present the hand of Russia is so heavy upon them that there seems little hope of their retaining any of their ancient liberties.

. . . "The patriotism which is cherished by war is ordinarily false and spurious, a vice and not a virtue, a scourge to the world, a narrow, unjust passion, which aims to exalt a particular state on the humiliation or destruction of other states."— *William E. Channing.*

. . . At the annual meeting of the French International Arbitration Society held at Paris on the 27th of March, and presided over by Frederic Passy, Mr. Barclay, an ex-president of the English Chamber of Commerce at Paris, made an address of great force in which he showed the necessity and the numberless advantages of a permanent treaty of obligatory arbitration between France and Great Britain. Mr. Passy supported him in one of his characteristic eloquent speeches.

. . . Mr. Ansbert Labbé, who a few years ago had an immense picture, entitled "Les Grands Artisans de la Paix," painted by the artist Danger, and presented it to the Czar of Russia, has had the same artist make a superb commemorative painting of the Hague Conference.

. . . Representatives of forty-two Indian tribes will make an exhibit at the Buffalo Exposition of the customs and ceremonies of their people.

. . . The International Bureau of the socialists, located at Brussels, has asked the socialists of all nations to put the question of disarmament on the programs of their national conferences.

. . . "The statesman, the cynic, the fool who propounds some theory of national greatness which takes no account of the law of mendacity," says John Jay Chapman, "is like a man who has the wit to reject rotten potatoes for his household use, but has not arithmetic enough to reject them in a wholesale transaction."

. . . Notwithstanding the strong bellicose spirit that has been developed in New Zealand by the South African War, an earnest and aggressive peace society has been organized in Auckland.

. . . Replying to a delegation of the Friends, who visited him recently and presented an address, King Edward VII. said that he prayed that his reign might witness the widespread acceptance of their principles, the establishment of peace among nations, and the growth of mutual help among the people of Great Britain.

. . . Secretary Hay and Lord Pauncefote have begun negotiations for a new isthmian canal treaty. Great Britain is reported to be willing to supersede the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, provided the new treaty contain provisions against occupation, colonization or assumption of any dominion by either of the countries in any part of Central America.

. . . The observation of Peace Day, the 22d of February, by the French peace societies, took the form of a banquet at the Palais d'Orsay, Paris. Fifteen societies were represented. There were two hundred plates. The four French members of the Hague Court, Leon Bourgeois, Mr. Laboulaye, Prof. Louis Renault and Mr. d'Estournelles de Constant were present. Mr. Bourgeois presided, and one of the principal addresses was made by Mr. d'Estournelles de Constant. It was perhaps the most important purely French peace demonstration ever held.

. . . The annual report of the Liverpool (England) Peace Society, a copy of which has just been received, says that "during the last fifty years an average of *seventy thousand* men per year have been killed by war."

. . . "To the Person Sitting in Darkness," the remarkable article by Mark Twain which appeared in the February *North American Review* and has created such interest and comment throughout the nation, has been published in pamphlet form and may be had for two cents, to pay postage, of the Anti-Imperialist League of New York, 150 Nassau Street, New York City.

. . . The Seventh Annual Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration will meet on the 29th, 30th and 31st of May. Mr. Smiley has invited a large number of guests, and it is expected that the Conference will be one of the most important ever held at Lake Mohonk.

. . . The suit brought by Mr. Pierce and others before the United States court at New Orleans, to prevent the buying and transporting of American horses to South Africa for the British, has failed. The court has decided that international law permits citizens of a neutral power to sell to either of two belligerents.

. . . The *New Age*, London, England, says: "There are thousands of men throughout the country who have dared to stand by their convictions, though the stand has cost many of them their work. They have had to leave foundry or factory, have been driven from their lodgings time after time, have had their houses wrecked, but they have not been silenced. To hold on like this needs greater courage than to rescue a comrade under fire; but instead of the Victoria Cross, they have been beaten, stoned, burnt in effigy. Thank God there are such men. When all else is dark, to think of what they have done gives us still some hope for England."

. . . In his recent lecture on "Socialism and the Spiritual Life," before the Social Science Club of Harvard University, George D. Herron said that every war is reflected everywhere in the marts of the world, affecting for weal or woe every person in the world to some extent.

. . . The *Correspondance Bimensuelle*, organ of the Berne International Peace Bureau, says that of the one hundred and eighty members of the newly elected Danish parliament, one hundred and twenty will be members of the Danish group of the Interparliamentary Peace Union; that is two-thirds of the entire House.

The Prayer of Humanity.

BY J. A. EDGERTON.

The world is waiting for its dream
To be interpreted;
For men have caught a golden gleam
Of glory from ahead;
In some occult way have divined
A coming splendor undefined.

They seem to hear, they know not whence,
A message new and strange;
They seem to sense the imminence
Of an approaching change;
They see, through some subconscious soul,
The glimmer of a nearing goal.

They wait for some one to reveal
The things that yet may be;
To speak, where they can only feel,
In words of prophecy;
To bid the sad old world rejoice;
To give their aspirations voice.

They wait a man who loves his race,
Feels for his brother's care;
Who looks the morning in the face,
And reads the promise there;
They wait the leader who will lead,
Unbound by faction or by creed.

They wait a man whose soul is pure,
Whose purposes are high;
Who knows the burdens men endure,
And hears the people's cry;
Who has the bravery to fight;
Who has the strength to follow right.

They wait a man of faith sublime
In love and brotherhood;
Who looks above the present crime
And sees the final good;
A man of broad and generous mind,
Who would uplift all humankind.

They wait a man who knows not fear,
Long-schooled in self-control;
Who feels the spirit of the seer,
Who has the poet-soul;
A man who has the heart of youth,
Who feels the passion of the truth.

They wait a man to scale the height,
That he may others bless;
Who knows the all-pervading blight
Of human selfishness;
Who feels the rage of liberty,
Who longs to make all peoples free.

They wait a man with will of steel,
With courage to defy;
Who dares to speak what he may feel,—
A man who will not lie;
A man who knows the future's needs;
A man of dreams and yet of deeds.

They yearn for one who through all ill
  Can yet strive on and wait;
Whose mind ideal visions fill,
  Who sees the social state;
One who has toiled and sacrificed,
Who feels the spirit of the Christ.

O God, thy people plead for light,
  That has been long denied;
Through all the past's dark, cruel night,
  They have been crucified;
They pray for one to lead them on
Unto the long-expected dawn.

He'll come with morning in his eyes,
  And at his thrilling word,
The world will rise in glad surprise,
  While every heart is stirred.
Lord, hear Thy waiting children cry,
  And let us know him ere we die.

The Higher Patriotism and the Cause of Peace.

BY REV. WILLIAM S. HEYWOOD.

From an address delivered at the Mystic (Conn.) Peace Convention, August 16, 1900.

. . . Passing from these generalizations, I am moved to make certain affirmations based upon the divine order of the world which a true and enlightened patriotism will recognize and be governed by as essential to a proper and rightful development or expression of national life.

1. The first is that the well-being, prosperity and happiness of a nation is indissolubly associated with the well-being, prosperity and happiness of all classes of its population and their corresponding unity, harmony and kindly coöperation. There can be no well-assured national good, no ideal national life, no unsullied national honor, where any considerable number of people are subject to the evils of ignorance, poverty, vice and crime, or are enslaved by bad habits and besotted by debauchery and excess. And no nation is really worthy of admiration in which gross and startling inequalities of circumstance, condition and opportunity exist, as between the rich and poor, the educated and uneducated, the refined and the vulgar, the so-called higher and lower elements of society. Nor can a nation be ideally prosperous and happy, or free from threatening ills, in which class distinctions assume a hostile and virulent form, or where envy, jealousy, ill-will or other spirit of alienation and distrust disturbs otherwise harmonious relations and engenders bitterness and wrath between man and man or between party and party; in social circles, in industry, business, politics or religion. Differences of opinion and of action there may be, there must be, except the individuality of men be destroyed, which would be a dire calamity; but all differences must be shared and exercised in the spirit of true liberty, without intolerance and persecution, each granting to others the rights claimed for himself, and all striving together for the common good of all. Fraternity, coöperation, harmony, are the watchwords of an orderly, happy community, town, state, nation, world.

2. A second important consideration regulating the expression or overt action of true patriotism is that one's country is but a single member of an extended brotherhood of countries, each and all having a place in the providential plan of the world and a part to play in the great drama of human life on the earth. As a legitimate deduction from this proposition, it follows that the several countries constituting this brotherhood, like the different classes or circles in any one of them, have certain common interests and rights entitled to mutual respect, and certain common obligations to be sacredly regarded and faithfully met; and that between those countries there should be nurtured the feeling of fraternal sympathy, helpfulness and goodwill. This makes all international jealousy, enmity, wrath and war not only derogatory to the character of the particular nations concerned, but perilous to the highest good of the entire fraternity of nations. The scorn, contempt, hostility, sometimes shown by citizens of one country towards those of another is no proof of pure patriotism, but of the lack of it, as a man who hates his neighbor's children can have no pure love for his own. Such scorn, contempt, hostility, is but the outcome of national conceit, egotism, bigotry, as offensive to a profound sense of justice and honor in a commonwealth or empire as in an individual, and as full of mischief and peril. National selfishness like personal selfishness is the grave of all true nobleness and renown; it festers with the germs of decay and death.

And the practical recognition of this fact of the brotherhood of nations opens out naturally into the larger fact of the brotherhood of the human race; the special love of one's country under divine tuition growing into that love for all men without which we are told upon good authority there can be no real love of God. So that, without depreciating or limiting one's affection for the land in which he lives or his desire or ability to serve its highest good, he may say in all honesty, as did one of America's noblest philanthropists, "My country is the world and my countrymen are all mankind." In the spirit of this broader, more inclusive interpretation of the word patriotism may men and nations dwell together in unity, in friendliness and in peace, mutual helpers of each other in all things pertaining to their enduring progress and glory, each striving with all and all with each for the universal good, the ultimate "federation of the world."

3. And once more I observe that patriotism of the higher order recognizes and regards the great fundamental fact of the universe that there is a law superior to all human enactments or decrees — a moral government of the world, supreme over all human interests and concerns, to which not alone the common personal affairs of men must be made subject, but all social, civil, national and international affairs as well; the greatest no less than the least of them. A nation without the consciousness of such a law, "whose seat is the bosom of God and whose voice is the harmony of the world," without a living sense of loyalty to such a government, on the part of its rulers and the great mass of its people, is a nation doomed, a nation rushing upon the thick bosses of the buckler of the Almighty. It is a dictum not from the Scripture records alone, but from the council-chamber of the eternities, that comes ringing through all the corridors of time, saying, "Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people." How slow are men to learn the sacred lesson that "whatsoever a man (or a nation) soweth that shall he (or it) also reap"; that no one individual, though he be king or president, and no

body of men, though it be a legislature or parliament, can annul the statutes of the great Framer of all worlds, make a wrong thing right, or stay the operations of that retributive Justice which holds all rational, responsible beings in all possible conditions under all possible relations amenable to its own solemn, unescapable operations and behests.

These things being so, the intelligent patriot shapes his thought and conduct accordingly. True to its permanent interests, he refuses to be a party or lend support to whatever he sees or believes to be wrong in his country's counsels, in its governmental policy, or in any department of the public service. The younger Pitt, whom Macaulay termed "the greatest master of parliamentary government the world has ever seen," resigned his place as prime minister of England, rather than violate his conscience in breaking faith with the Catholics of Ireland. Granville Sharpe, the patriarch of British abolitionists, gave up his position in the government of the kingdom rather than lend support in any way to the war against the American colonies in 1776, deeming it unjust and therefore detrimental to the public welfare. It was no lack of patriotism that prompted the action of these men, but the impulse of the highest type of patriotism. They were better patriots by far than the monarch and members of Parliament whose policy they opposed. Who were the more worthy to be called patriots in this country before the Civil War, the abolitionists, who, seeing the giant iniquity that was destroying the liberties of the people and threatening the life of the nation, sought to have it put away by legitimate means and without violence and the effusion of blood, or their pro-slavery detractors, in and out of office, who, by a blind and wicked policy, brought on the strife at arms, causing the republic to totter in her accustomed seat and the South land to be strewn with the dead bodies of more than half a million of her sons?

No true patriot shuts his eyes to his country's follies, crimes, abominations, or withholds his testimony against them, whatever be the sacrifice or risk. Much less does he palliate them, apologize for them, or seek to shield them from the rebuke and condemnation which are their righteous due. Nor does he adopt or give currency, repute and weight to such maxims as "My country however bounded," "My country, right or wrong," "My country, my whole country, and nothing but my country," maxims born of the war spirit, and employed chiefly in war time to pervert the judgment of men and help on war's bloody work. No thoughtful, high-minded patriot is deceived and led astray by them. They are morally indefensible, wicked, atheistic. They dethrone God; they ignore, set at naught, bring into contempt, the everlasting law; they deserve only censure and unqualified reprobation at the hands of all who reverence truth, justice and the eternal right.

And now let us consider what relation true patriotism sustains to the great cause of peace, whose interests this gathering represents, and whose triumph it is designed to advance. That it is exceedingly cordial and intimate has been already indicated. Every consideration offered in exposition of such patriotism, of its essential nature and character, of its workings in human history, of what it suggests, inspires and seeks to accomplish, is in singular and happy accord with the principles, purposes, methods and hopes of the friends of peace, appeals directly to their sympathy and judgment, and commends itself to their approval, confidence and regard. The cause of peace is emphatically the cause of the Republic; and the welfare of the Republic is largely dependent upon the development and ascendancy among its citizens of that type of personal character and the prevalence of that spirit of friendliness, coöperation and harmony which it is the special purpose of the peace movement to engender and make dominant in public as well as in private life.

As a matter of fact, true patriotism and the peace cause operate along similar lines to one and the same transcendent end, — along lines of justice, mercy, love, towards mutual goodwill, unity, solidarity in the state and nation, and towards the final enfranchisement and pacification of the world. There is ample room for illustrating in detail this likeness of the two to each other — of showing their many points of correspondence, if not their absolute identity; and even that in many particulars. Certainly the peace cause recognizes and emphasizes the three fundamental truths or principles of civic order just now stated, the acknowledged supremacy of which has been declared to be essential to true and enlightened patriotism — truths or principles that need no further elaboration or enforcement.

True patriotism and the cause of peace correspond in desiring and seeking to enhance the enduring greatness of a country, and in the conception of what that greatness is — of its real nature and character. And this has never been set forth in more eloquent and impressive language than by the distinguished philanthropist and statesman, Charles Sumner, in his splendid oration upon "The True Grandeur of Nations." "War," he says, "is utterly and irreconcilably inconsistent with true greatness." "That consists in imitating as nearly as possible for finite man the perfections of an infinite Creator; above all, in cultivating those highest perfections, justice and love." "The true greatness of nations is in those qualities which constitute the greatness of the individual. It is not to be found in extent of territory, nor in vastness of population, nor in wealth; not in fortifications, nor armies, nor navies; not in the phosphorescent glare of fields of battle, nor in Golgothas, though covered with monuments that kiss the clouds. For all these are creatures and representatives of qualities in our nature unlike anything in God."

"Nor is the greatness of nations to be found in the triumphs of the intellect alone — in literature, learning, science or art. These may widen the sphere of its influence; they may adorn it, but they are only its accessories. The polished Greeks, the world's masters in language and thought, and the commanding Romans, overawing the earth with their power, were little more than splendid savages; and the age of Louis XIV., spanning a long period of worldly magnificence, was degraded by immoralities that cannot be mentioned without a blush, and by deeds of injustice not to be washed out by the tears of all the recording angels of heaven. The true grandeur of humanity is in moral elevation sustained, enlightened and decorated by the intellect of man. And the truest tokens of this grandeur are the diffusion of the greatest happiness to the greatest number, and that God-like justice which controls the relations of the state to other states and to all the people under its care." It is national greatness thus delineated that the true patriot and

the friend of peace conjointly seek to honor and enhance.

Such greatness will command the approval and admiration of all noble souls, not alone by the sublime qualities that characterize it, but by the extent and splendor of its achievements. It will be not simply a latent and inappreciable force in the world, — an abstract idea for the student of political economics, — but an active energy in human life and history, making the nation illustrating it a mighty factor in the problem of human uplifting and redemption. We are hearing just now a great deal about the part which the United States is coming to play in the great drama of human affairs by reason of her recent military and naval exploits. "The war with Spain," says Governor Adams of Colorado, "makes our country *a world power*." Other purblind politicians and half-fledged patriots are saying the same thing, and the responding populace rend the air with shouts of applause thereat. To such persons, ignorant of the philosophy of history as they are of ethical principles and agencies, this great American nation was of little account in the world until within two or three years. But now, since San Juan and Manila, we, her people, are somebody, we can take our place among other nations and defy them all; we can whip all creation; no foreign, old-time dynasty will henceforth dare to tread on the toes of our venerable Uncle Sam or insult the dignity of his imperial majesty. The watchwords henceforth are to be, "hands off" and "beware."

So some people talk. But such talk is cheap — too cheap for serious consideration, and as vicious as it is cheap. It is the glorification of brute force and national pugilism. It is the exaltation of might over right, of military prowess over justice and humanity. It is the boast of the braggart, the swaggerer, the prize-fighter; not an expression of true valor, of lofty statesmanship, of clear-seeing philosophy. It makes the United States the chief bully among the nations — a distinction not to be proud of and not to be coveted. This vain and shameful braggardism was so well stated and elucidated a year or more ago by Rev. Dr. Jefferson of Broadway Tabernacle, New York City, in a sermon from the text "And the devil taketh him up into an exceedingly high mountain," etc., that I venture to quote a brief passage:

"Men are everywhere exulting in the notion that we, as a nation, have become a great world power. We amounted to nothing before the victory at Manila. He is a Rip Van Winkle of an American who had to be aroused from sleep by a cannon shot to learn that the United States has been a world power for years. How did she become such? By her army? No. By her navy? No. By dabbling in diplomacy? No. By colonies and dependencies? No. But by the culture of the arts of peace; by building schools, colleges, churches; by developing free institutions. . . . We have not fooled away our time in drilling men to kill each other. We have not squandered our money on armies and navies." "America is not isolated. Her spirit for years has walked up and down the earth. Where is there a land her influence has not reached? . . . Her ideas have touched the hearts of men under every sun. . . . She is a power already in the evolution of the race. And yet some men never knew it till a gun was fired at Manila. . . . A great naval power — a great military power! In many a circle these are phrases to conjure with. A great *Christian power* to my ears sounds much better!" As it does, I apprehend to the ears of both peace men and true patriots — to the ear of God and his holy angels. A great power for justice, righteousness, brotherhood, peace, throughout the earth. So may she be.

So indeed let us hope and pray that she may be. For it is in the way suggested that our beloved country is to act a noble part on the stage of history and serve humanity's highest good in the years to come. Not like Rome of old, by making other nations tremble at the mention of her name; not by conquests at arms on distant battlefields; not by subjugating weaker provinces and compelling them to bow to her imperial sway; not by elevating her standards on foreign soil and refusing to take them down again, however unrighteously they may have been set up: but by her proclamation of the principles of civil and religious liberty; by her championship of the inborn rights of mankind; by her ideals of freedom made real within her own borders; by the light of her example of righteous self-government shining forth to illume the benighted portions of the globe; by the contagion of an honorable, just, humane, national life; by the prosperity, virtue and happiness of all classes of her population; by her institutions of learning, charity and religion; by her sympathy for and hospitality to downtrodden and oppressed peoples struggling after liberty and a better life; by her missionaries and heralds of Christian faith going forth in the spirit of the Master into all the world to preach the gospel of love to God and man, and to wage holy warfare against human folly, ignorance, sin and shame, not with carnal weapons but with spiritual, which are mighty through God to the pulling down of the strongholds of the adversary, and to the achievement of a final victory for the true, the beautiful and the good throughout the earth.

True patriotism in this land of ours supplements and reinforces the cause of peace in vigorously resisting the growing militarism which is dominating to a large extent the policy of the national government, corrupting the high standards of public life and exalting brute force to the place in common esteem which properly belongs to reason, the judicial sense, and the spirit of brotherhood. Two and a half years ago, under the pretext of delivering the inhabitants of the island of Cuba from the cruel tyranny of Spain, the baser elements of the political arena and the jingoists of the press throughout the country roused the latent war spirit of the people at large from the repose of a generation to an intensity that overruled their calmer judgment and more humane feeling and that inaugurated a new regime in the administration of national affairs full of mischiefs and portents of coming ill. As a result the army of the United States has been multiplied fourfold, with a fair prospect of indefinite increase under the infatuation created by the widely prevailing greed of gain and of empire in our borders.

An army is in its very nature a despotism, and, extended beyond the limits of a national police force, a menace to the Republic and to that freedom and independence for which the Republic, true to its ideals and the principles of its founders, stands,— a menace to all forms of popular government. This is shown in the history of the ancient and medieval commonwealths, as it is in the experience of the French nation since it last

assumed the name and form of a democracy. Again and again has the government established by Thiers, Hugo, Favre, and other actors in the revolution of 1870, come near to shipwreck by reason of the arbitrary spirit and the imperialistic tendencies, the malign influence, of the army. Washington clearly apprehended danger from this source to the political edifice he helped to raise, and in his farewell address warned his fellow countrymen against "overgrown military establishments, which" he said, "under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty." True patriotism to-day, among wise, prophetic men, as in the person of the "Father of his country," views the rapid increase of these liberty-imperiling establishments with deep solicitude and even alarm, and protests against them accordingly. Moreover, such establishments and their accessories are highly prejudicial to the well-being of the great mass of the people of a country, especially of the industrial classes — the honest yeomanry. We have but to look at continental Europe for indisputable proof of this. The army equipments there, which have doubled within thirty years, are maintained at immense cost, necessitating a system of taxation which reduces the populace to a condition of extreme poverty and degradation, a condition provocative of unrest and disorder, and well calculated to generate nihilism, anarchism, and all forms of violent upheaval and bloody outbreak. If our land is to avoid social and civil tumult and convulsion in days to come, she must guard assiduously against the causes that produce them, chiefest of which is an oppressive militarism, as experience in the countries alluded to demonstrates. Clear-seeing, high-minded patriots among us see the impending peril, and join most heartily with the friends of peace in demanding a halt in the military activities of the time, a suppression of the prevailing war spirit for the sake of the Republic, of the people generally, and of the cause of freedom in the world at large.

Three Prime Causes of the Boxer Uprising.

The annual report of the American Bible Society, issued April 10, contains the following interesting statements from its agent in China, Rev. John R. Hykes, D. D., as to the causes of the Boxer movement. They agree entirely with what has been from the beginning clear to all unsophisticated minds:

"The question has been raised at home as to whether the Boxer uprising was anti-foreign or anti-missionary in its character. No doubt exists in the mind of any well informed person in China. The movement was undoubtedly against foreigners, as such, and the crusade was directed against everything foreign, Christianity, of course, included. Unfortunately, the treatment China was receiving from some of the great powers goaded her to madness. It is absurd to say that the extensive preparations, costing millions of money, were for the sole purpose of driving out or killing a couple of thousand helpless men and women who were scattered over the eighteen provinces preaching peace and good-will, educating the children, and healing the sick. The missionaries were the first and the greatest sufferers; but this was to be expected, because they were living in remote parts of the interior and were absolutely defenseless. The rage of the Boxers was directed equally against diplomat, merchant, traveler and missionary. They destroyed railways, telegraph lines, collieries and machine shops, as well as chapels and schools. They destroyed every foreign article they could find, and one of the greatest conflagrations in Peking was started by firing a store which dealt in foreign medicine, and a mill in which foreign machinery was used. Chinese officials and merchants fleeing from the capital to their homes in the provinces were searched by Boxers and beheaded if any article of foreign manufacture could be found upon their persons or among their luggage. More than half of the mandarins in the empire refused to obey the order of the Empress Dowager, and at the risk of their own lives protected the missionaries and gave them escort, money and every facility to escape. It would have been much easier for them to have massacred the helpless missionaries, and infinitely more agreeable to their imperial mistress. Hsu Ching Cheng and Yuen Chang, two ministers of the foreign office, would not transmit the awful edict which reiterated the order to 'painfully extirpate all foreigners,' but changed it so as to read, 'protect all foreigners,' and then sent it flying over the wires to the remotest provinces. They were sentenced to be cut in two! Missionaries were the class that benefited by this act of heroism. The fact that every missionary escaped from fourteen out of the eighteen provinces would indicate that the crusade was not specially anti-missionary. The kindness of the people to many of those who were escaping from far-interior places, and the welcome extended to those who have returned to their stations, show that there is no special hostility to them or their work.

"While the influence of the missionaries has undoubtedly been a powerful factor in the line of reform in its best and highest sense, and in so far has contributed to the bringing about of a crisis in China, yet the prime causes of this outbreak are not far to seek. The venerable Li Hung Chang, one of the Peace Commissioners, said in my hearing that 'a hatred of the Christian religion lies at the bottom of the present trouble.' But it is not alone a hatred of Christianity, or of the preachers of that faith, that is responsible for the horrible deeds which shocked the civilized world. The crisis of the past summer would have taken place if there had not been a single missionary in China.

"The political encroachments of foreign nations, under the guise of leases of territory, is one of the principal causes of the trouble. These events exasperated China almost to the point of desperation; for she thought, and not without reason, that these inroads upon the part of the great powers were preliminary to the conquest of the empire.

"This apprehension was strengthened by what may be regarded as the second cause of the crisis, the newspaper discussions of the partition of China and the defining of spheres of influence by the powers. The partition of the empire is the one thing that would make the Chinese fight to the death. The great southern Viceroys informed the powers that an attempt of that kind would be resisted by all the forces at their command. It seemed to the officials and the intelligent, reading people that when the

western powers began to define and haggle about their spheres of influence they were merely laying claim to the territory they expected to fall to them in the general division, and that the dismemberment of the empire was at hand.

"Foreign syndicates have done no little in fomenting the trouble. Backed by their respective governments they have pressed, if not forced, from the Chinese concessions for the working of mines and the building of railways. Rightly or wrongly, the people believe that these have been extorted from them. The introduction of railways and labor-saving machinery has been opposed here on the same ground as in other countries, that they throw many laborers out of employment. The great bulk of the Boxers in Chihli were recruited from the carters and the boatmen, the two classes which have suffered most from the building of the railways. All of the machinery at the Kaiping coal mines was destroyed, although the property belongs to a Chinese company.

The above facts ought to convince any fair-minded man that 'those troublesome missionaries,' who until one year ago were persistently represented as doing nothing and accomplishing less, have not turned China upside down."

It will be a miracle if the atrocities committed in China by the foreign troops, in retaliation for the horrible deeds of the Boxers, do not bring forth a worse harvest of death and destruction than that which has been just reaped. This is sure to be the case if the powers proceed any further in their aggressions. The fruit of contempt and aggression is always hate and vengeance. The fruit of love, respect and fairness is always love, trust and return service.

A Mortal Dilemma.

BY BLISS CARMAN.

From the New York Commercial Advertiser.

Bliss Carman, the poet, the best known of Canadian literary men, published in the *Commercial Advertiser*, on the 13th of April, the following untutored opinion of the ethics of war, given here somewhat condensed:

"A friend of mine has long been perplexed over the 'ethics of war,' as he calls it, and cannot reconcile his idea of Christianity with the cruelties which Christian nations practice in their rivalries.

"I may as well say, first as last, that if he is going to look for consistency among professed Christians, my friend had better abandon his search. We 'profess and call ourselves Christians,' it is true; and we also kill under the polite name of 'war' and rob under the polite name of 'loot.' But killing and stealing were not only forbidden by Christ; they were forbidden by Moses long before. Christ, indeed, was even more emphatic and plain in his disapproval of all violence. How, then, do we claim to follow his teachings and yet justify our murders and thefts?

"For war is nothing but murder and theft, remember. You may dress it up as fine as you will, in all the pitiful rags of patriotism (that last delusive relic of a barbarous time), war is still nothing more nor less than organized thievery and murder. And because it is organized and legalized does not exempt you and me from responsibility if we participate in it.

"Of course we do not feel this way about war in our thoughtless and more superficial moments. Our education has all been against pity and love and actual Christianity; and the instincts of the savage have been carefully, though mistakably and perhaps unintentionally, fostered. And primitive instincts, so useful in the sylvan state of human development, do not die easily. It is always easy to see red and to want to do murder. The other day, at lunch, an eminent publisher happened to say that he was just back from a brief duck-hunting expedition in the South; and an eminent novelist who was present remarked that he had been very fond of the sport, but had given it up; he didn't use a gun any more. And as I knew that this was so, and that he had given up shooting out of a genuine distaste for the cruelty of it, and because he has a warm, humane heart, and yet, as I knew also that he had been one of the first to offer his services to the British government to hunt Boers in South Africa, I could not help saying that in time perhaps he would come to feel as humanely toward his fellow-men as he did toward his other fellow-creatures. And I am sure he will, though it may not be in this incarnation. I confess I despise the Boers myself, but that does not prevent me from thinking it is wrong to despise them.

"But how does it come that that eminent novelist and myself have these feelings of enmity against our fellowmen? Probably our training has been at fault. Probably we have not been taught the doctrine of Christ, the doctrine of lovingkindness and the forgiveness of injury. And yet we were both trained from infancy in the sober school of the 'church militant.'

"Ah, there it is, you see — the 'church militant.' But what has the church to do with militancy? True, it claims to be only militant against evil; yet the militant idea itself savors of barbarism and heathenish wildness. And in time of war the ministers of Christ (as they call themselves) unite with one accord to pray for the success of their country's arms. That strife and killing are directly forbidden by the Teacher they pretend to serve never enters their head. The older cult, the paganism of the earth, is too strong for the novel doctrines of Nazareth.

"There, I take it, is the whole difficulty. The Christian churches of to-day are disseminators of a pestilent falsehood directly opposed to the teaching of Christ. They are the wretched servitors of Mammon, waiting on the Time-Spirit. They reflect only our own benighted aspirations and unkindly bigotries. They are racial institutions, maintained to please our own fancies, to lull our own conscience, to dull our own sense of right and wrong, to mitigate for ourselves our own crimes against our neighbor in aggression and expression, to justify to ourselves our crimes against honesty in the dealings of the commercial world.

"The churches supported by the community only reflect the moral turpitude of the community. The fat minister on his fat salary does not preach the doctrine of Christ. He preaches the doctrine of Wall Street and the War Office. Indeed, he is not a minister of Christ at all; he is a minister of conventionality and compromise.

"If my friend would solve his perplexities about war, he might begin by a thorough study of the first church he comes to on the left-hand side of the street as he leaves his home of a morning."

On the Credit Side.

H. G. Rhodes, in the *Saturday Evening Post*, April 27, says that "in international as in private life it may be safely contended that friendliness is always on the credit and dislike on the debit side.

Meaning of Life.

Tolstoy says: "The meaning of human life, comprehensible to man, is the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth; that is, in assisting in replacing the egoistic, hate-inspired, violent, irrational organization of society by a loving, fraternal, free and rational one."

Right Teaching of History.

In a recent address before the Woman's Educational and Industrial Union of Boston, on "Methods of Teaching History," Rev. Edward Cummings said:

"If you would fittingly teach the great lessons of history, teach lessons of fraternity, coöperation and service; glorify the men who have won bloodless battles against unrighteousness, disease and sin —see that these civic heroes have their renown."

Carolina Indian Republic.

Few people are aware that in the mountains of North Carolina there exists an Indian republic whose government is quite outside the jurisdiction of the State or of the United States. Mr. Landon Knight has visited this little republic in the interest of the *Woman's Home Companion*, and his description of it will appear in the June number, fully illustrated with photographs.

TO THE DEAF.

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CONSTITUTION
OF THE
AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.

ARTICLE I. This Society shall be designated the "AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY."

ART. II. This Society, being founded on the principle that all war is contrary to the spirit of the gospel, shall have for its object to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and to devise means for insuring universal and permanent peace.

ART. III. Persons of every Christian denomination desirous of promoting peace on earth and goodwill towards men may become members of this Society.

ART. IV. Every annual subscriber of two dollars shall be a member of this Society.

ART. V. The payment of twenty dollars at one time shall constitute any person a Life-member.

ART. VI. The chairman of each corresponding committee, the officers and delegates of every auxiliary contributing to the funds of this Society, and every minister of the gospel who preaches once a year on the subject of peace, and takes up a collection in behalf of the cause, shall be entitled to the privileges of regular members.

ART. VII. All contributors shall be entitled within the year to one-half the amount of their contributions in the publications of the Society.

ART. VIII. The Officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, an Auditor and a Board of Directors, consisting of not less than twenty members of the Society, including the President, Secretary and Treasurer, who shall be ex-officio members of the Board. All Officers shall hold their offices until their successors are appointed, and the Board of Directors shall have power to fill vacancies in any office of the Society. There shall be an Executive Committee of seven, consisting of the President, Secretary and five Directors to be chosen by the Board, which Committee shall, subject to the Board of Directors, have the entire control of the executive and financial affairs of the Society. Meetings of the Board of Directors or the Executive Committee may be called by the President, the Secretary, or two members of such body. The Society or the Board of Directors may invite persons of well-known legal ability to act as Honorary Counsel.

ART. IX. The Society shall hold an annual meeting at such time and place as the Board of Directors may appoint, to receive their own and the Treasurer's report, to choose officers, and transact such other business as may come before them.

ART. X. The object of this Society shall never be changed; but the Constitution may in other respects be altered, on recommendation of the Executive Committee, or of any ten members of the Society, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at any regular meeting.

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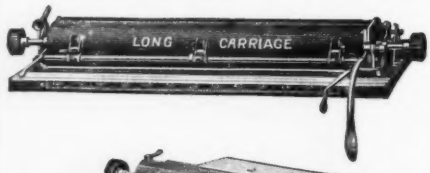

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